

Interviews: 1004 Respondents
 Dates: April 17-20, 1993

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4038
NBC News/WSJ
April 1993

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Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	8	[15
	0]
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction.....	37	43	47	45	15	34	[16]
Wrong track.....	44	35	27	32	71	48	
Mixed (VOL).....	11	11	14	11	9	13	
Not sure.....	8	11	12	12	5	5	

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people and institutions who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu -tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[17]
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Al Gore							[18]
April 1993.....	20	27	23	12	12	6	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
The Democratic Party							[19]
April 1993.....	15	29	22	18	13	3	
March 1993.....	15	32	20	18	12	3	
The U.S. Congress							[20]
April 1993.....	5	21	25	27	18	4	
March 1993.....	3	22	24	28	17	6	
January 1993.....	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992.....	2	16	20	31	27	4	
Ross Perot							[21]
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
The Republican Party							[22]
April 1993.....	9	30	26	18	13	4	
March 1993.....	8	27	23	22	16	4	
Boris Yeltsin							[23]
April 1993.....	9	32	28	8	4	19	
August 1991*.....	21	29	20	9	3	18	
June 1991*.....	8	25	19	4	1	42	
July 1990*.....	2	10	14	5	3	66	
Bob Dole							[24]
April 1993.....	13	25	26	11	7	18	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[25]
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	52	57	51	[26]
Disapprove.....	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	45	52	[27]
Disapprove.....	40	28	
Not sure.....	15	20	

(FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	47	47	[28]
Disapprove.....	30	22	
Not sure.....	23	31	

(FORM A)

5a. Compared to other recent presidents at the beginning of their terms, do you think Bill Clinton has been more effective, less effective, or about as effective during his first 100 days as president as have other recent presidents during their first 100 days in office?

More effective.....	2	[29]
	6	
Less effective.....	2	
	7	
About as effective.....	4	
	3	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

5b. Compared to the way George Bush handled the job of president, do you think Bill Clinton represents a change for the better or a change for the worse?

Change for the better.....	5	[30]
	4	
Change for the worse.....	2	
	8	
Not much of a change (VOL)....	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

(FORM A)

6. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you think Congress and the president are working well together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things are pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93*</u>	
President and Congress will be able to work together.....	29	47	61	[31]
Things will be pretty much as they were before.....	65	47	34	
Not sure.....	6	6	5	

(FORM B)

7. For each of the following areas of policy, please tell me whether you think Bill Clinton is paying too much attention to that area, too little attention, or whether he has been paying about the right amount of attention to that area. **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS. FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, do you think Bill Clinton has been paying too much attention, too little attention, or about the right amount of attention to that area?

	Too Much Attention	Too Little Attentio n	Right Amount Of Attention	Not Sure	
Relations with Russia.....	19	12	63	6	[32]
The economy	8	42	44	6	[33]
Social issues.....	24	28	38	10	[34]
The war in Bosnia.....	15	32	38	15	[35]
Health care reform.....	15	26	51	8	[36]
Deficit reduction.....	7	48	38	7	[37]

(FORM A)

- 8a. Do you think Bill Clinton as president has concentrated on the issues on which he campaigned during last year's presidential race, or do you think he has changed his focus to other issues?

Bill Clinton has concentrated on the issues on which he campaigned.....	3 8	[38]
Bill Clinton has changed his focus to other issues.....	5 1	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM B)

- 8b. Who do you consider to be the main spokesperson for the Republican Party today--**(ROTATE NAMES)** Dan Quayle, Bob Dole, Phil Gramm, Newt Gingrich, Jack Kemp, Pat Buchanan, or someone else?

Dan Quayle.....	9	Jack Kemp.....	7	[39]
Bob Dole.....	5	Pat Buchanan.....	3	
	3			
Phil Gramm.....	2	Someone else.....	6	
Newt Gingrich.....	1	None of these/no one (VOL).....	3	
		Not sure.....	16	

(BOTH FORMS)

9. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	4	7	7	6	7	11	[40]
Unemployment.....	44	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit.....	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Not sure..... 1 | 1 1 1 2 3

- 10a. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	33	39	50	53	32	31	[41]
Will get worse.....	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	2	3	2	2	3	5	

- 10b. Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's economic program?

Favor President Clinton's economic program.....	5	[42]
Oppose President Clinton's economic program.....	0	
Not sure.....	3	
	5	
	1	
	5	

- 10c. I would like to read two statements about Bill Clinton's economic plan, and then ask which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton's plan relies too heavily on tax increases and too little on spending cuts to bring down the budget deficit.

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton's plan provides a good balance between cuts in spending and tax increases to bring down the budget deficit.

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Statement A/relies too heavily on tax increases.....	63	50	[43]
Statement B/provides a good balance.....	32	43	
Some of both (VOL).....	1	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	3	4	

(FORM A)

11. Here are some statements people have made about President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I mention, please tell me if you agree or disagree with that statement. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The plan will reduce unemployment				[44]
April 1993.....	45	49	6	
March 1993.....	52	39	9	
The plan will make the U.S. more competitive internationally				[45]
April 1993.....	48	41	11	
March 1993.....	50	37	13	
The plan will reduce the budget deficit				[46]
April 1993.....	38	55	7	
March 1993.....	52	40	8	
The plan will raise wages and living standards				[47]
April 1993.....	28	63	9	
March 1993.....	38	55	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 12a. Who do you think is more serious about reducing the budget deficit--President Clinton, or the Republicans in Congress?

President Clinton.....	5	[48]
	2	
Republicans in Congress.....	2	
	9	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	7	

- 12b. Now I would like to read some elements of President Clinton's economic plan. Please tell me which one part of this program you consider to be the most important element in improving economic conditions in this country. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

An increase in income taxes on corporations and upper-income Americans, and an across-the-board tax on all forms of energy in order to reduce the deficit.....	30	[49]
Cuts in defense spending and cuts or limits on the growth of spending on many domestic programs in order to reduce the deficit.....	30	
Increased government spending on such programs as urban development projects, bridge and highway repairs, and summer jobs for young people, in order to stimulate economic growth.....	29	
All elements equally (VOL).....	2	
None of these elements (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

- 13a. Do you believe the Republicans in Congress are interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think they are opposing Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Republicans are interested in offering a realistic alternative.....	28	25	[50]
Republicans oppose Clinton's plan for political reasons....	60	62	
Republicans have not offered an alternative (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	10	11	

- 13b. And do you believe Ross Perot is interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think he is criticizing Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

Ross Perot is interested in offering a realistic alternative..	5	[51]
	0	
Ross Perot is criticizing Clinton's plan for political reasons	3	
	6	
Ross Perot has not offered an alternative (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

- 14a. Do you believe the economic situation in the U.S. requires government spending to stimulate the economy, or do you believe the economy will recover on its own without federal government action?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Government spending is required to stimulate economy	55	50	[52]
Economy will recover on its own without government action.....	37	40	
Not sure.....	8	10	

(FORM A)

- 14b. The Clinton Administration has proposed to spend sixteen billion dollars on several projects, including extending unemployment insurance benefits, Head Start and meals for children, highway and bridge repairs, and development grants for local communities to spend as they choose.

(ROTATE THE FOLLOWING TWO SENTENCES:)

Opponents of this bill say it contains wasteful spending and that it would increase the deficit.

Supporters of this bill say it will create five hundred thousand jobs, and that Congress should give President Clinton's program a chance to work.

Who do you agree with more--the opponents of this bill or supporters of this bill?

Agree more with opponents of this bill.....	3	[53]
	5	
Agree more with supporters of this bill.....	5	
	8	
In between, agree with both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

(BOTH FORMS)

15. For each of the following taxes I read, please tell me if would you favor or oppose that tax if the money were to be used to pay for a national health care system. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose (READ ITEM)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
A national sales tax, called a "Value Added Tax," on most items other than food, medicine, and housing.....	51	44	5	[54]
]
Significant increases in taxes on cigarettes and alcohol.....	75	23	2	[55]
]
A tax on health insurance companies and other health care providers.....	31	60	9	[56]
]
Taxing corporations on some of the health care benefits they provide.....	30	61	9	[57]
]

(FORM B)

16. Which of the following statements do you agree with more? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

STATEMENT A: The government should provide more services even if it means raising taxes to pay for these services.

STATEMENT B: The government should reduce taxes even if it means providing fewer services.

Statement A/provide more services.....	38	[58]
Statement B/reduce taxes.....	50	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 17a. Let me read you a list of goals that have been proposed for the federal government to achieve. Please tell me which one or two of these goals you think should be the top priority or priorities for the federal government. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO RESPONSES. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Eliminating the federal budget deficit.....	38	[59]
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and campaign contributors.	26	>
Creating more jobs.....	38	
Providing aid to promote democracy and political stability in Russia.....	4	
Reforming the health care system.....	32	
Stopping unfair trade practices by foreign competitors.....	22	
Other (VOL).....	-	
All equally (VOL).....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

- 17b. How closely have you been following what Ross Perot has been saying in the news--very closely, fairly closely, or not very closely?

Very closely.....	1	Not very closely.....	56	[60]
	0			
Fairly closely.....	3	Not sure.....	1	
	3			

- 17c. Do you believe Ross Perot has too much influence on Bill Clinton's decisions as president, too little influence, or that he has the right amount of influence on Bill Clinton's decisions as president?

Too much influence.....	7	Right amount of influence.	40	[61]
Too little influence.....	3	Not sure.....	23	
	0			

- 18a. Which party, **(ROTATE ORDER)** the Republican Party or Democratic Party, do you think is doing the best job of addressing the issues raised by Ross Perot?

The Republican Party.....	22	[62]
The Democratic Party.....	36	
Neither (VOL).....	14	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	26	

- 18b. Ross Perot has been promoting a membership drive for his organization "United We Stand, America." Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about why Ross Perot is back in the news? **(READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE.)**

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Ross Perot is trying to unite his supporters to influence government policy.....	38	44	[63]
Ross Perot is laying the groundwork to run for president in 1996....	35	29	
Ross Perot is seeking public attention for himself.....	16	19	
Ross Perot is trying to damage Bill Clinton.....	4	3	
None of these (VOL).....	2	1	
All of these (VOL).....	1	-	

Not sure.....	4		4
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- 18c. If Ross Perot supported a congressional candidate in your area in next year's elections, would Ross Perot's support make you more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely, or would Ross Perot's support not make any difference to your vote?

More likely.....	1	[64]
	8	
Less likely.....	1	
	1	
No difference.....	6	
	8	
Not sure.....	3	

- 19a. Do you favor or oppose making public funds available to finance campaigns for Congress, in exchange for limits on campaign contributions from individuals and political action committees?

Favor making public funds available.....	3	SKIP TO	[65]
	8	Q.19c.	
Oppose making public funds available.....	5	CONTINUE	
	3		
Not sure.....	9		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT FAVOR PUBLIC CAMPAIGN FUNDING IN Q.19a.)

- 19b. If money were made available by eliminating the tax deduction that allows corporations to avoid taxes on lobbying expenses, would you favor or oppose public funding of congressional campaigns?

Favor public campaign funding if corporate lobbying deduction is eliminated	1	[66]
	5	
Oppose public campaign funding even if corporate lobbying deduction is eliminated.....	3	
	8	
Favor eliminating corporate lobbying deduction, but money should not be used to fund campaigns (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	8	
Favor making public funds available (from Q.19a).....	3	
	8	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 19c. Some people have proposed placing a legal limit on the amount of money that can be spent in a congressional campaign, in order to reduce the influence of people and organizations who contribute to those campaigns. Opponents of these campaign spending limits say that a candidate should have the right to spend any amount of money, provided it is legally raised and reported. Whose views do you agree with more--those who would like to place legal limits on congressional campaign spending, or those who oppose such limits?

Agree more with supporters of campaign spending limits.....	7	[67]
	3	
Agree more with opponents of campaign spending limits.....	2	
	4	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

- 19d. How much influence do you think people and organizations who make large campaign contributions have in determining what Congress and the president do--a great deal, just some, or very little influence?

A great deal of influence.....	6	Very little influence.....	8	[68]
	9			
Just some influence.....	2	Not sure.....	2	
	1			

(FORM B)

- 19e. How much influence do you think lobbyists have in determining what Congress and the president do--a great deal, just some, or very little influence?

A great deal of influence.....	6	Very little influence.....	8	[69]
	9			
Just some influence.....	1	Not sure.....	4	
	9			

Now I would like to ask you about some other issues.**(FORM A)**

- 20a. Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Favor NAFTA.....	27	28	21	27	[70]
Oppose NAFTA.....	25	31	37	34	
Have not heard enough yet.....	44	36	38	35	
Not sure.....	4	5	4	4	

(FORM A)

- 20b. I would like to read two statements about the North American Free Trade Agreement, and ask which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER.)**

STATEMENT A: The trade agreement will increase economic growth and create jobs in the U.S. because Mexico is a large country that will buy a great deal of U.S. products and services.

STATEMENT B: The trade agreement will cost the U.S. many high-paying manufacturing jobs, because U.S. companies will move their factories to Mexico where wages are much cheaper.

Statement A/agreement will create jobs....	25	[71]
Statement B/agreement will cost jobs.....	65	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM B)

- 20c. Now I would like to read you two statements about whether the federal government should increase the fees paid by private companies for timber, mining, and grazing rights on federal lands, and ask you which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

STATEMENT A: The fees should be increased, because they were set during the nineteenth century, are below market rates, and are subsidies from the federal government to private companies.

STATEMENT B: The fees should not be increased, because raising them would hurt the economies of the states that depend on timber, mining, and cattle.

Statement A/fees should be increased.....	41	[72]
Statement B/fees should not be increased.	46	
Some of both (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	10	

(FORM A)

- 21a. Studies show that the largest amounts of health care dollars are spent during the last twelve months of a person's life. Do you think a government national health care program should pay for all procedures that might prolong the life of an elderly, terminally ill patient, or do you think there should be some point at which the government should no longer pay for such procedures?

Government should pay for all procedures.....	4	[73]
	1	
At some point, government should not pay for all	4	
procedures.....	1	
Depends on circumstances (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	8	

(FORM B)

- 21b. Suppose you had an elderly loved one who was terminally ill, and you had to decide whether or not to continue all medical procedures to prolong that person's life. Do you think you would approve of every possible procedure that might prolong that person's life, or do you think there would be some point when you would feel those procedures should not be continued?

Would continue all procedures.....	1	[74]
	2	
At some point, all procedures should not be continued.....	8	
	0	
Depends on circumstances (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM B)

22. Do you think talk programs, such as Donahue, Oprah, and Geraldo, deal with topics that are appropriate for broadcast during daytime hours, or do you think the topics of those programs are not appropriate to be broadcast during the day?

Topics are acceptable for daytime broadcast.....	3	[75]
	7	
Topics are not acceptable for daytime broadcast.....	4	
	6	
Topics should not be broadcast at all (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 23a. Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?

Favor allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to	4	SKIP TO	[76]
serve.....	3	Q.24a	
Oppose allowing openly gay man and lesbian women to	4	CONTINUE	
serve.....	7		
Not sure.....	1		
	0		

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE OR ARE NOT SURE ABOUT ALLOWING GAYS AND LESBIANS TO SERVE IN THE MILITARY IN Q.23a.)

- 23b. Would you approve of allowing those gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military if they followed the code of military conduct and did not openly declare their homosexuality?

Would approve if they did not openly declare their homosexuality.....	3	[77]
	1	
Would <u>not</u> approve even if they did not openly declare their homosexuality....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	
Favor allowing openly gay man and lesbians to serve in the military (from	4	
Q. 23a).....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

24a. Do you think abortion should be illegal, or not?

	<u>4/93</u>		<u>7/92*</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>5/91*</u>	<u>7/90*</u>	<u>4/89*</u>	<u>1/89*</u>	<u>10/88</u>	<u>2/84</u>	<u>8/82</u>
									*	*	*
Abortion should be illegal.	35	SKIP TO Q.25a.	26	27	31	32	30	34	31	36	31 [78]
Abortion should not be illegal.....	58	CONTINUE	67	66	60	60	64	61	61	58	62
Not sure.....	7		7	7	9	8	6	5	8	6	7

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT BELIEVE ABORTION SHOULD BE ILLEGAL IN Q.24a.)

24b. Do you believe the federal government should or should not help pay for abortions for lower-income women who cannot afford them?

	<u>Pro-Choice Adults</u>	
Government should help pay.	56	[79]
Government should not help pay.....	36	
Not sure.....	8	

(ASK EVERYONE.)25a. Recently, many school systems have debated whether to provide high school students with access to contraceptives. **(ROTATE THE FOLLOWING TWO SENTENCES.)**

Supporters of providing contraceptives say doing so will prevent teenage pregnancy and the spread of diseases like AIDS.

Opponents say providing contraceptives to high school students sets a poor example, and encourages them to be sexually active.

Who do you agree with more--the supporters of providing high school students with contraceptives or the opponents of providing high school students with contraceptives?

Agree with the supporters.....	57	[80]
Agree with the opponents.....	39	
Not sure.....	4	

25b. Which do you think is the greater worry when high school students have unprotected sex--that they may produce an unplanned child, or that they may contract a disease like AIDS?

Greater worry is an unplanned child.....	29	[81]
Greater worry is contracting a disease like AIDS.....	44	
Both equally (VOL).....	23	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

Now I would like to ask some questions on foreign policy.

- 26a. President Clinton has proposed an increase in aid to Russia to stabilize Russia's democratic government, which he believes would promote world peace and America's long-term security interests. Opponents of this proposal believe it is more important to use this money to pay for our needs at home. Do you favor or oppose this proposal to increase aid to Russia?

	<u>4/93</u>		<u>3/93</u>	
Oppose proposal to increase aid to Russia.....	52	CONTINUE	62	
Favor proposal to increase aid to Russia.	40	SKIP TO Q.27a.	33	[82]
Not sure.....	8		5	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO OPPOSE AID TO RUSSIA IN Q.26a.)

- 26b. How important will the issue of American aid to Russia be in deciding your vote in next year's congressional election--will it be a very important issue, a somewhat important issue, or will it not be a very important issue in deciding your vote in next year's congressional election?

	Adults Who Oppose Aid to Russia	
Very important issue.....	22	[83]
Somewhat important issue...	46	
Not an important issue.....	26	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 27a. Do you consider Russia to be an ally of the United States, an adversary, or neither an adversary nor an ally?

Consider Russia an ally.....	2	[84]
	6	
Consider Russia an adversary.....	1	
	0	
Consider Russia neither an ally nor an adversary. .	5	
	7	
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM A)

- 27b. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
It is in the national interest of the United States to see that Russia makes a successful transition to democracy and a free-market economy.....	73	20	7	[85]
The money we would spend helping Russia would be better spent here at home.....	66	26	8	[86]
Helping Russia become democratic is a worthwhile investment, in light of the hundreds of billions of dollars we spent defending our country from the threat of the former Soviet Union.....	60	28	12	[87]
The aid we provide to Russia will probably be wasted.....	44	47	9	[88]
It is important that the United States do whatever it can to see that Boris Yeltsin remains president of Russia.....	48	36	16	[89]

(FORM B)

28a. Do you favor or oppose the United States sending troops to the former Yugoslavia to try to help stop the civil war there?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93+</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>8/92*</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	
Favor sending troops to the former Yugoslavia.....	35	41	34	26	33	27	[96]
Oppose sending troops to the former Yugoslavia.....	52	51	54	62	54	65	
Not sure.....	13	8	12	12	13	8	

(FORM B)

28b. Thinking about the three of the former Yugoslavian nations who are currently at war, Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, do you think one is more responsible than the others for the fighting, or do you think all the warring nations are equally responsible? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS ONE IS MORE RESPONSIBLE, ASK:)** Which nation do you think is more responsible--**(ROTATE)** Serbia, Croatia, or Bosnia?

Serbia more responsible.....	16	[91]
Croatia more responsible.....	1	
Bosnia more responsible.....	3	
All equally responsible.....	58	
None is responsible (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	21	

(FORM B)

28c. Do you believe there is a strong comparison between the situation in the former Yugoslavia today and the situation in Europe during the Nazi Holocaust of the 1930s and 1940s, or do you think the two situations are not really similar?

Yugoslav situation is similar to Holocaust.....	3	[92]
Yugoslav situation not really similar to Holocaust.....	7	
Not sure.....	4	
	4	
	1	
	9	

(FORM A)

29. Do you think there are or are not any Americans soldiers who were listed as missing or killed in action during the Vietnam War still being held in Southeast Asia?

	<u>4/93</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	
American soldiers are still being held.....	67	69	[93]
No American soldiers are still being held...	19	20	
Not sure.....	14	11	

(BOTH FORMS.)**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1a. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[94]
	7	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	8	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	4	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	6	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F1b. Based on what you now know, who would you have wanted to see win last year's election--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS "NONE" OR "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way would you lean if you had to make a choice?

George Bush.....	3	[128]
	1	
Bill Clinton.....	4	
	3	
Ross Perot.....	2	
	1	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	[95]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	6	
Moderate.....	2	
	5	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	6	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
No thoughts.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")****(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[96]
	6	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	5	

Independent/lean Democrat.....	9
Strictly Independent.....	1
	9
Independent/lean Republican.....	9
Not strong Republican.....	1
	3
Strong Republican.....	1
	1
Other.....	7
Refused.....	-
Don't know/nothing.....	1

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	[97]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	4	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	2	
	0	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	8	[98]
	2			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	8	
	1			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	2			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	1			
40-44.....	9	65 and over.....	17	
		Refused.....	-	

F6a. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	[99]
	6	
White collar worker.....	1	
	8	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	2	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	2	
	0	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	[100]
	1	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F7. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN ARE AT HOME, ASK:) How old are your children? (IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:) Are your children under age 12, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

<u>Yes, Have Children at Home</u>		[101]
Under age 12.....	2	>
	8	

Age 12-15.....	1
	0
Age 16-18.....	8
Over age 18.....	8
No, Do Not Have Children At	5
Home	8
Not Sure/Refused	-

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[102]
	6	
Catholic.....	2	
	8	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	8	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	80	[103]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	[104]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	5	